

PEACE NEWS

Brotherhood : Non-Violence : Freedom

CANON COLLINS:
The scandal of S. Africa
PAGE THREE

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WALKED INTO BARRACKS WITH PEACE LEAFLETS

"Can you still take
part in war?"

Charles Marland, a British Quaker has been distributing copies of the leaflet issued by the Standing Joint Pacifist Committee "Can you still take part in war?" to military and naval personnel in Portsmouth.

The leaflet quotes Dr. J. H. Oldham: "If war ever degenerates into the wilful slaughter of the innocent, Christians must either become pacifists or give up their religion;" and President Truman: "War is no longer the sane man's alternative to anything."

Peace News asked Charles Marland to describe his experiences at Portsmouth and he writes:

MY "crusade" is just to witness to those who are preparing to do the deeds of war.

My first clash was with the Provost Staff Officer at Malvern RE camp, to whom I was escorted by military police. Out of respect for, and at the quest of, a local Rotarian for whom I had lectured, I complied with the Staff Officer's request not to attempt to enter the camp again.

I had the day before soaked that camp, and its near-by married quarters, with leaflets.

Portsmouth was my ultimate objective as it is a hot-bed of militarism. I know it well. In addition to HMS Victory; HMS Dolphin, Hulsea Barracks, etc. my chief aim has been directed of the Eastrey Marine barracks.

My second distribution there was rather quickly ended by a Marine asking me to go with him to the Adjutant. Thence by private car with military escort to Eastrey Police Station.

For a hungry three hours I was badgered first by a police sergeant then by two CID men who were telephoned for.

On promising to report next day I continued my witness of truth to the now friendly detective.

All my small audiences were, I think, impressed as far as they dare yet be, by my message.

Friendly

My third distribution at Eastrey would, I felt sure, land me in an out-of-the-way place.

The Provost Sergeant this time blasphemed and threatened me, but after consulting his Adjutant he again warned me and had my body escorted beyond the gates.

I at once entered for the fourth time by another gate and was then detained for an hour or more while the same Provost-Sergeant and two different Admiralty detectives cross-questioned me.

Once more I was released with a caution, being informed that all naval and military establishments had been instructed to prohibit entrance to any person answering to the colour of my eyes.

I am not deterred. It is, I believe, a God-given task, one of the many tasks laid upon Quakers at their 1954 Yearly Meeting and upon other earnest pacifists.

Human prohibitions do not now count with me so much as this command "go ye into all the world and preach the gospel of peace through love." I am trying to practise love.

Grace and strength come from such examples as George Fox, John Wesley, Luther and the Great Teacher who defied the Temple rules, knowing full well what the consequences would be.

African resisters in "White" Church

THE campaign against the colour bar has taken a new turn in Northern Rhodesia. On recent Sundays African members of the African National Congress have attended the services of the Dutch Reformed Church in Broken Hill. They have sat quietly in church and have departed when told to do so.

The police say they cannot act unless there is a disturbance, but the European Christians say that they will take matters in their own hands if the practice continues.

THE WORLD'S ARMS BILL

THE world arms bill costs £16 per year for every man, woman and child on the earth.

DEATH OF MRS MUSTE

ANNE MUSTE, wife of A. J. Muste, Secretary Emeritus of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation, died on September 30. A tribute to her is provided by her husband in his "Letter from USA" on page two this week.

THE GERMAN PEOPLE ARE OPPOSING REARMAMENT

Krupps resist arms work

IN all the discussions on German rearmament in the world's press one aspect has received little attention: the reaction of the German people.

The world knows that Dr. Adenauer has been satisfied and that Dr. Adenauer's views meet with the approval of the American Republican Government and the British Conservative Government—and also, of course, of the British Labour Opposition.

With the German people, however, it is a different matter. The West German Trades Union Congress, representing 6,000,000 workers has overwhelmingly carried the following resolution:

"For the internal development of the Federal German Republic, the rearmament and organisation of a German Army as laid down by the London agreement would bring the danger of the creation of a militaristic, authoritarian State. This would in turn defeat the efforts of the German workers' movement to erect a political, social, and economic democracy."

Much effort has been put into the conditioning of the German people to the acceptance of militarism after it was found that what had been called "re-education" was no longer desirable.

But reconditioning has had its own difficulties. The Manchester Guardian correspondent in Bonn reports that one difficulty arises from the fact that "German youth has been systematically schooled to believe in a supra-national European Army and has been taught that a national force of any kind is retrograde."

A unanimous vote against an armed contribution of any kind has come from the 670,000 strong trade union youth groups in Germany, in addition to the vote reported above. The Social Democrats, no more pacifist than the British Labour Party, have continuously offered opposition to rearmament on a variety of grounds. Then there is the pacifist influence which, while it has had to meet hindrance and obstruction from the Occupation authorities as well as from the Adenauer Government, is nevertheless considerable and is particularly strong in the Evangelical Church.

Here are some of the facts about German opposition reported by Henry Holm, Peace News and Worldover Press Correspondent in Berlin.

WIDER than in most countries is the gap in Germany between the press and officialdom on one hand, and the masses of the people on the other.

It is a condition partly due to the absence of any long democratic tradition.

But there is another reason. After the Nazi Party had gone, the other parties, in the main, simply started where they had broken off in 1933, before Hitler came to power. There are very many citizens who, however, feel that the old parties had failed, and that something new should be worked out today, different from the old lines of argument and the present-day party grouping. Membership in

● On back page

INDIA AND THE WEST

'Out of Commonwealth if . . . '—Indian Socialist

INDIA should withdraw from the British Commonwealth so long as the Commonwealth was committed to the Western power bloc, said Narendra Deva, veteran Indian pacifist in London recently.

Narendra Deva, a long-time follower of Gandhi, Executive member of the Praja Socialist Party, member of the Indian Senate and Vice-Chancellor of Benares University was speaking at a packed meeting of the Indian Socialist Group.

It was necessary for India to withdraw from the Commonwealth if she wished to develop a real Third Force policy he said.

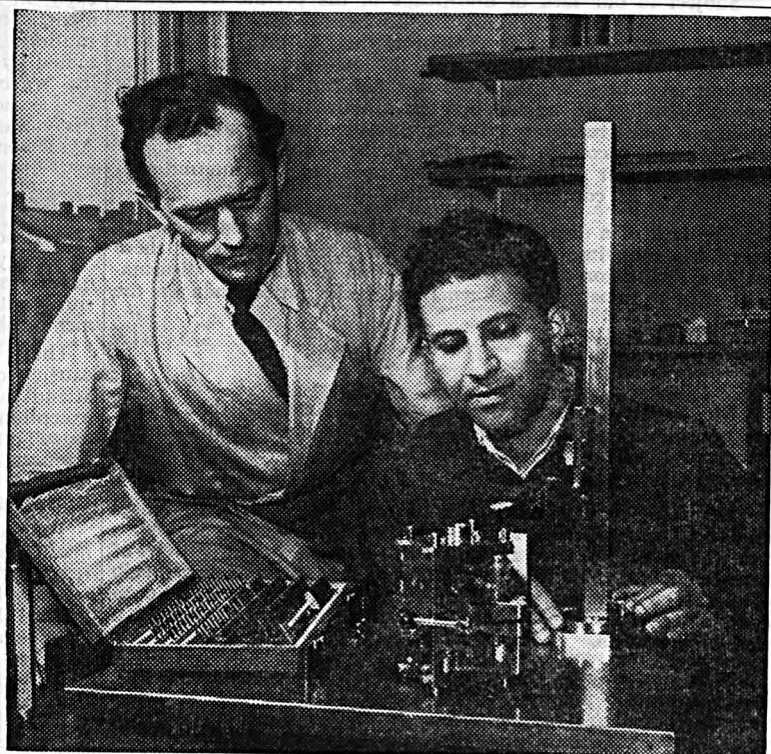
Speaking of the domestic Indian political situation, Mr. Deva said he was opposed to governmental coalition by his Party with the Congress Party, now in power, as he felt such a coalition would be on terms dictated by the Congress Party and would not further the development of India towards Socialism. Co-operation with Congress on specific issues outside the government was favoured, but there had been little response from Congress when he suggested this.

The foreign policy of Nehru he described as a "negative Third Area policy" which merely sought to preserve an area of the world free from war—whether cold or hot. Whilst acknowledging the value of this policy in reducing world tension, he advocated a positive policy which would aim, not at the creation of a third power bloc, but at the development of a new ideology based on true democracy, including economic democracy, and a right attitude to the human personality.

Nehru's policy was not of this kind, and the greater part of the Congress Party did not favour even the "Third Area" policy.

Speaking at the same meeting, Mr. Fenner Brockway MP warned against attempts to establish an African Treaty Organisation on the lines of NATO and SEATO.

He said he had recently been informed by Dr. Nkrumah, Prime Minister of the Gold Coast, that a preparatory office for the calling of a Pan-African Conference was to be set up in Accra. He viewed this as a great step forward in African affairs.



Joseph Amir (right) is one of eleven Israeli workers learning new skills and techniques in selected industries in Sweden under the worker-trainee programme of the International Labour Organisation, a specialised agency associated with the United Nations. In this picture Gustaf Hanson checks the work of trainee Amir on a measuring gauge in a cash register manufacturing plant near Stockholm.

—Unations

MILITARY DISPLAYS ON REMEMBRANCE SUNDAY

"An offence to many Christians," clergy told

CLERGYMEN are being asked to think again about military displays in churches on Remembrance Sunday.

A letter reminding them of the Lambeth declaration "War as a method of settling international disputes is incompatible with the teaching and example of Our Lord Jesus Christ" and expressing the view that "the military character of many of the Services of Remembrance are an offence to many Christians," is being sent out to the clergy of Britain by the Movement for a Pacifist Church of Christ.

The Movement's secretary, Wallace Hancock of 8 Barclay Oval, Woodford Wells, Essex, is asking for the names and addresses of clergymen or others responsible for church services in order that copies of the letter may be sent out as widely as possible.

The letter reads:

Dear Sir,
I have been asked to write to you concerning the method of commemorating Sundays which are associated with national celebrations and events. It is a matter of regret that so many Churches keep these days of remembrance associated as they are with very sacred memories for so many people, to the accompaniment of military displays and spectacular pageantry.

At the Cenotaph

For nearly 35 years on the occasion of the anniversary of the signing of the armistice of the First World War the pronounced emphasis of the service around the Cenotaph in London and in many other parts of the country has been of a military character. The day, however, commemorates the sacrifice of those who gave their lives in battle to save the world from another such human disaster. You must be aware that there are large numbers of people who regard the military association usual on such days as very regrettable and inappropriate.

Especially to be regretted is the prominent part played by youthful or juvenile military or

semi-military organisations in these days of national remembrance.

I would point out that the Lambeth Conference, over twenty years ago, asserted that "War as a method of settling international disputes is incompatible with the teaching and example of Our Lord Jesus Christ" and at both the Amsterdam and Evanston meetings of the World Council of Churches the position of the pacifists in the church has been recognised. We ask therefore that those responsible for church services will recognise that the military character of many of the national services of remembrance are an offence to many Christians.

In quiet places

We would, moreover, point out that many who do not share our pacifist opinions, and many who have lost, in war, those whom they loved, wish to remember them in the quiet places of contemplation and prayer, rather than in the environment of patriotic witness.

We would suggest that even if you are unable to agree with pacifists, nevertheless, the fact that most Christians agree that war is incompatible with the mind of Christ, would imply that they do not think it right that the worship of God should be the occasion of military and semi-military parades, demonstrations and pageantry.

We shall be grateful if you will consider these views on future church celebrations of a national character.

Yours sincerely,
WALLACE HANCOCK,
Hon. Secretary.

THE POPE AND ABC WAR

ADDRESSING the delegates attending the congress of the world Medical Association at the beginning of October, the Pope declared that if war with atomic bacteriological and chemical weapons involves such an extension of evil that it completely escapes human control, then its use, even in defence, must be rejected as immoral. He said:

"In a case like this there can be no question of 'defence' against injustice and of necessary 'safeguarding' of lawful possessions."

"It is a case of pure and simple annihilation of all human life within the range of the war-like action. No reason can be adduced to allow this."

Writing on this pronouncement the Catholic Herald says:

"In this address, the Pope has for the first time absolutely and finally condemned under any circumstances a certain mode of warfare."

"In doing this, the Holy Father seems to pass from the hypothetical type of moral teaching in this field: 'If certain conditions are not fulfilled, then . . . to, in effect, the categorical one. 'An all-annihilating weapon can never be used under any conditions'."

TO AID QUAKE VICTIMS

TO assist in earthquake relief work near Orleansville, the Algerian Branch of the Service Civil International (International Voluntary Service for Peace) have sent a team of work campers into the area.

An appeal has been made in the Algerian press for volunteers and for funds, but immediate and effective help from outside Algeria is essential, reports the Association of International Work Camps for Peace.

Contact with the Algerian unit is maintained in Britain by International Voluntary Service for Peace (19 Pembroke Villas, London, W. 11) and in the USA by the American Friends Service Committee.

PEACE NEWS

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THE FIRST NEED IS TRUST

THE question of the possibility of maintaining an international supervision and control of the level of armaments now falls to be examined in a practical sense for the first time since the end of the war. It arises in two connections: the new Russian attitude and the decisions of the nine-Power London Conference.

Subject to our lack of knowledge of the private discussions that have taken place on the UN Disarmament Commission, there would have seemed to be no genuine attempt by either of the two sides really to come to grips with the matter. As between the Russians and the USA the issue has hitherto been kept on the level of whether an agreed ban on atomic weapons should or should not take precedence over an agreement on "conventional" weapons; and secondly, in relation to the prohibition of atomic weapons, whether there should be operated an international "control" or a "continuing inspection."

The lack of a disposition to bring these differences "down to cases" has sometimes seemed to suggest that on both sides there was less inclination to contemplate actual measures of disarmament than to construct arguments and make propaganda on the subject.



Mr. Vyshinsky's intimation to the UN Assembly that Russia was now ready to discuss the matter on the basis of the Anglo-French proposals of June 11 that it had previously rejected brings a hope that the matter may now be placed on a different footing.

He proposes that there shall be agreed reductions by stages applied to armed forces, armaments and military budgets; that a control commission shall be set up to supervise the operations of these reductions; and that the ban on atomic weapons shall begin to operate at the opening of the second stage of agreed disarmament, when the control commission will, of course, have been tried in operation.

It is not only in the working out of Mr. Vyshinsky's proposals, however, that the practicability or otherwise of international control has to be tested. If the decisions on German rearmament of the London Conference should come to be applied these will also require the operation of plans of international inspection to secure that levels to be laid down are not exceeded.

Such inspection will have to operate not only in relation to the prohibition put upon Germany against the manufacture of atomic, biological and chemical weapons, but also in regard to the level of armaments of all the "defence" forces (whether for contribution to NATO or for "internal" purposes) of the members of the Brussels Treaty Organisation.

If the UN Disarmament Commission should now find itself able to proceed seriously it will, of course, be concerned with precisely the same problems as will the agency for the control of German and West European armaments to be set up as part of the Brussels Treaty Organisation.

Now in contemplating these steps there are two questions that practical people have to ask themselves:

1. In the industrial conditions of today, and having regard to the weapons used in present-day warfare, is an effective system of supervision possible without requiring such enormous charges for an effective inspectorate that the expenditure will be an intolerable addition to the amounts that the nations are spending on armaments?

2. Should effective control prove impossible because of the intolerable expenditure involved, may not suspicions as to whether the level of armaments decided upon is really being observed be just as dangerous and inflammatory as the piling up of armaments in an armaments race?



We do not raise these questions in any pessimistic sense. We are hoping that from the step forward by the Russian Government to meet the Western Powers on the basis of the Anglo-French proposals will come a certain amount of trust in international affairs. What we are concerned to point out now is that the development of trust is more important and a great deal more possible than the construction of a system of control that is proof against a desire to deceive.

In the last resort it is only through mutual trust that the world can be saved; and we believe that the best and most effective means of beginning to create the conditions which would make mutual trust possible would be a policy of disarmament by some great nation, that was not linked up with any kind of bargaining at all.

Opposition to the London Agreement

SIX million members of the West German Federation of Trade Unions have voted against the London Agreement and the Social Democrats have voted in the West German Parliament against ratification.

If the British Labour Party intend to take account of the views of the continental Labour Movement they will have to give considerable weight to these facts and also to the knowledge that the French Socialists, although divided on some points, are not in favour of the London agreement.

With the very serious division that exists in the ranks of the Labour Movement, and taking into account the cautious terms of the resolution presented by the Labour Party Executive to the Scarborough Conference, it is hard to see how in Parliament the Labour Party can fail to oppose the London Agreement if they are to represent majority socialist opinion.

The meaningless vote

THE policy decisions taken at Labour Party conferences, we have frequently stated, have very little relationship to the views of the rank and file membership of the Party.

They represent the views of the caucus of trade union leaders, who attend the Conference, apart from very exceptional cases, without being mandated on policy by their union conferences, and more often than not without even having been mandated by their Executive Councils.

The question of German rearmament may have been an exceptional case, and it is possible that more trade union conferences have made a declaration on this matter than on most political issues. Even should this be so, however, the votes of many of the delegations when they were cast, were very debatable because of the way they measured the views of their members against the quickly changing circumstances.

Thus it is a matter for doubt whether the delegation representing the miners was entitled to vote in favour of German rearmament. The case of the woodworkers is even more striking, for at the Trades Union Congress their vote was cast against German rearmament while at the Labour Party Conference it was cast in favour.

This delegation actually changed its decision as to the way it would vote after it reached Scarborough, and as the majority was only 248,000 the swing over of this vote of 130,000 was decisive.

Much more enlightening as to the way the mind of the membership is moving is the vote of the representatives of the constituency parties for their representation on the Executive. Here the delegates of the local Labour Parties vote separately and, as they are in a different position from the trade unions in that they have generally been given instructions by their members, we can get an idea of what the active political members of the Party are thinking.

These have been saying since 1951, with increasing emphasis, that the Party attitude is out of line with what the political membership desires. In 1951 four out of seven Bevan group candidates were elected, with a substantial increase being given to those who had supported the Bevan campaign, and a falling off in the support given to the adherents of the official line. It was then that Mr. Shinwell lost his seat because of this trend.

In 1952 the four Bevanites were increased to six and Mr. Morrison and Mr. Hugh Dalton found themselves rejected with Mr. Shinwell. Last year there were again six members of the Bevan contested the General Treasurership instead, where he was beaten by the local Labour Parties. This year their number is reduced to five because Mr.

BEHIND THE NEWS

Bevan contested the General Treasurership instead, where he was beaten by the trade union vote. Mr. Anthony Greenwood was added to the five, however, and although he has not been associated

MY OBJECTION

MY conscientious objection to military service is of an ethical character; I do not appeal to the tenets of any religious faith or political movement. I believe that modern warfare is morally degrading to all who participate in it.

War has always been a terrible scourge, involving loss of life and human suffering; in recent years, more and more, the mass extermination and terrorisation of civilian populations has become the normal method of waging war.

It is not so many years since the people of this country were shocked at the terror bombing of Guernica, Warsaw and Rotterdam. Since then we have seen the adoption of similar methods of indiscriminate warfare by Great Britain and her allies, culminating at the end of the Second World War in the use of the atomic bomb against Japan. In the Korean war the British Government acquiesced in the use of the napalm bomb against the civilians of that country. I regard this wholesale slaughter of human beings as morally unjustifiable, and I refuse to be a party to the commission of atrocities under the guise of defending civilisation. If I were to accept military service, in any capacity, I would be implicitly sanctioning these atrocities.

The existence of universal military conscription and a high level of armament help to maintain an atmosphere of fear and suspicion in which the likelihood of war is great, hence the fact that this country may not be at war at the actual moment when I am asked to join up in no way affects my decision not to accept military service.

—From a statement submitted to the London Tribunal by Michael Kendall, student of sociology at the London School of Economics.

with the Bevan group, he has been an opponent of German rearmament and decidedly nearer to the Bevan group than to the official line.

Of the five members of the Bevan group who were re-elected all, with the exception of Mrs. Castle, received substantially increased majorities.

There is little doubt that the membership wants to say when it is given an opportunity to speak!

Domestic policy conditioned by pact

NOT only will the obligations to be undertaken by Britain set a rigid line to which its foreign policy will have to conform, should the London Pact secure the necessary ratifications, but they will also condition domestic policy.

Britain is to be fettered to conscription indefinitely.

The monetary cost will involve an amount equivalent to an increase of 1s. 6d. in the standard rate of tax for every income-tax payer, for although West Germany under present circumstances is responsible for financing the army of occupation, the permanent maintenance of the British Divisions on the Continent will cost this country at least £200 millions per year.

It becomes increasingly clear that it is not possible to have a welfare state run on warfare lines.

Advice to Formosa

THE State Department in Washington has refused to comment on the rumour that the US has asked Chiang Kai-shek to stop bombing the mainland of China.

The basis of the rumour seems to be that while it is American policy to give every assistance to the defence of Formosa, they are not prepared to encourage an attack against China proper. We only hope that this is so. And that America will be able to control her despotic ally, though the best way of doing this would be to cease to support Chiang in any way.

We notice that Chou-En-lai has laid a formal complaint before the UN at the aggressive nature of American aid to the rebel government on Formosa.

China's overseas citizens

IN his speech to the National People's Congress Mr. Chou En-lai estimated that there were 12 million Chinese living overseas.

The traditional claim that all overseas Chinese must remain citizens of China has always caused serious concern in other SE Asian countries.

There is therefore real significance in the hope expressed by the Chinese Prime Minister that other countries would not discriminate against Chinese living within their borders but protect their legitimate rights and interests, and his undertaking that the Chinese government would urge all overseas Chinese to respect the laws of the governments and the social customs of all countries in which they live.

The Chinese government has expressed a readiness to go even further and try to reach a settlement which would leave their overseas citizens free to give up their nationality in order to become full citizens of their adopted country.

The two kings

TWO kings from Africa are at present in London. They are here with a very different standing, however.

One of them is an enforced exile from his own land and his people, held here under a prohibition that forbids his return. The other is an honoured and welcome guest.

They are the Kabaka of Buganda and the Emperor of Ethiopia. The latter, who now comes on a state visit, has been here before as an exile, when he was driven from home by an imperialist power. The imperialist power in his case, however, was Italy and not Britain.

The imperialist power that has exiled the Kabaka from his home is Britain. He was exiled because he would not pretend to his council of advisers regarding the imposed rulings of the imperialist government under which they lived that he was personally in agreement when he actually disagreed.

The only ground upon which the continued control over the people of Uganda by the British Government is justified is that the people of Uganda are not fit for self-government. What is implied in the fact that we can receive the Emperor of Ethiopia as the honoured monarch of an independent nation is that the Ethiopians, being so much more advanced in education, civilisation and the development of democratic administrative methods are so fitted; in contradistinction to the natives of Uganda.

Everybody knows that this is nonsense. The explanation is therefore not the British concern for human welfare, but the fact that it has suited the British interest in the struggle of power politics that Abyssinia should be independent while it is not similarly acceptable that Uganda should be so.

A man and his wife

READERS of Peace News will not, I trust, take it amiss if I devote this letter to what is in a sense a very personal matter and one which is not likely to be of personal interest to more than a handful of readers outside the US. Nevertheless, the thing I shall try to say has also some "public" significance.

Let me begin some distance back by recalling a conversation I had in the summer of 1947 with Pastor Wilhelm Mensching at his home not far from Hanover, Germany. Mensching was the leader of the Fellowship of Reconciliation in Germany during the war and the years of the Hitler regime which preceded the war.



All who knew of the intransigent opposition which he and his family offered to the Nazi regime from the very beginning were amazed that they survived at all, and in fact Mensching did not even land in a concentration camp. Needless to say that it afterwards became clear that they had some very narrow escapes, in connection with which it is difficult to avoid the term "miraculous."

In that to me unforgettable meeting with Mensching in the parsonage where all kinds of hunted people had been sheltered during the nightmare years, he talked more about his wife's attitudes and exploits than about his own. She was at the time in a sanatorium some distance away.

In the course of the talk, he said that of the pacifists and near-pacifists of his acquaintance in Germany—the men—only those whose wives had stood by them—spiritually and emotionally, though not necessarily in intellectual agreement—had remained substantially true to their convictions in the years from 1933 to 1945. Every other man in the pacifist circles either betrayed his convictions and capitulated more or less completely or committed suicide!

This testimony to what a wife may mean to a person who goes through the vicissitudes which an activist in minority movements is likely to encounter is an appropriate introduction to mention of the fact that my own wife passed away on September 30. We had been married over 45 years and it was fifty years, almost to the day, since I had met her and knew that "this was it."

One of my friends tells me occasionally that the best speech I ever made—coming from him, this carries no implication that I make a lot of good ones—was at a Student Christian Association Conference at Estes Park, Colorado, in June 1940. Since the reference is to one in which I talked about Mrs. Muste who happened not to be in that particular meeting, this remark of his always makes me very happy.

That was the time when the Nazi Panzer troops were blitzing Western European countries. It was clear that it was only a

matter of time before the US would be in the war. It was also obvious that a conscription law would be enacted within weeks and the issue of participation in war was not an academic one for the young college students at the conference, especially the men.

I told them of my own experience as a young minister in World War I. Mrs. Muste and I had both come out of a conservative theological and political background. Early in 1915 my attitude on war was still the conventional one in that period when, be it recalled, the pacifist movement as we know it today was non-existent. Neither the FoR for example, nor the War Resisters International, nor the Friends Service Committee existed before 1914. But as it became clearer that the US would enter the war, the question of what a Christian should do became insistent and personal.

By the end of 1915 as a result of much soul-searching and a vast amount of reading in the mystics, the early Quaker writers and Tolstoy, I concluded that war and Christ could not be reconciled. Early in 1916, a few weeks after its founding in the US I joined the FoR. For some months my—our—Christian pacifist stand was popular with the Congregational Church in the Boston suburbs which I was then serving. After the US entered the war in April 1917, this was no longer so, and by the end of that year I had to resign my pulpit. The dream of going on placidly in a conventional ministry, financially secure, socially

respectable, which we shared when we were married in 1909, had been shattered. "Security" in the conventional sense, we had none of at that moment of exit from the parish in 1917.



At one of the most trying moments a couple of years later when I was in process of becoming a political radical as well as a pacifist, Anne said something to me which I passed on to the students at Estes Park in 1940. It was this: "Just keep on talking with me, letting me know what you think, why you do these unexpected things." This maintenance of "communication" is, of course, fundamental in marriage and in all important human relationships. When it is truly maintained, it creates "communion."

There were not many outwardly placid or uneventful periods in the years that followed and I never succeeded in breaking the habit of doing "unexpected things." Neither did the "communication" cease nor the deepening of "communion." Her tremendous aliveness, her unswerving confidence, her laughter and her marvellous courage—I cannot imagine what life would have been without them. I write this in praise of all the women who stand by their men and in the hope that all the conscientious objector and nonconformist lads who are nineteen now will meet such a girl as I met when I was nineteen.

Letter from U.S.A. by A. J. Muste

'The Scandal of South Africa'

CANON COLLINS REPORTS

By Olwen Battersby

"THERE must be a change of heart in the white people. Otherwise there will be an explosion, probably a blood bath, as well as violence and terror."

This was the warning given by Canon Collins at a Christian Action meeting in Central Hall, London, last week. Victor Gollancz was in the chair.

"I seldom venture to prophesy," he continued, "but I believe this explosion may take place within six months time; certainly in not more than two years."

In reply to a question he stressed further the urgency of the situation.

In Johannesburg fifty thousand Africans were to be moved from their homes; they would be compensated at the Government's valuation; bare services would be provided in that area to which they were to be removed.

This was the point at which, Africans felt, resistance must again operate. Plans were on foot: owners would sit firm in their houses; others would lie in the streets and bar the road to lorries making removal impossible. This was also the point at which Dr. Swart the Minister of Justice might start the shooting war.

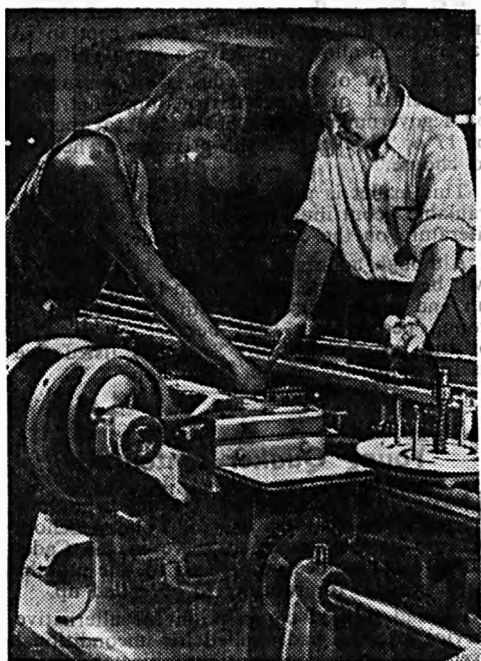
Provocation

For the incessant provocation given by the police—such for example as pressing their rifle-butts on the feet of Africans as they streamed past—the brutality of their methods of search and arrest; the complete disregard of justice in respect of pass laws and other restrictions, forced one to the belief that the Government were anxious that a shooting war should begin.

Of life in South Africa he said: "Every moment, race, race, race, from morning to night. Racism bedevils the life of South Africa from top to bottom, from end to end. Questions relating to industrial development, which elsewhere would be of an acute social and economic type, in South Africa are racial: jobs are given not according to skill, but according to the colour of one's skin."

"But you don't understand. The African is different. They like it like this' South Africans told me. Over and over again, ad nauseum it was repeated."

The white men and women in South Africa



BOOKS FOR KOREA. Guided by an experienced hand, a Korean printer tries out a technique just learned. The instructor is a Canadian who is helping Koreans master modern printing methods under the auspices of the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency. The printers' new skills are now at work in a textbook plant in Korea, which is expected to turn out 15,000,000 books by the end of the year.

—Unations.

Received with thanks



"GRATITUDE for very good news received" was the reason which prompted one contributor to send "a small token" to the Peace Pledge Union Headquarters Fund during the week. We are grateful for this, as for other gifts, including £5 from "an abolitionist 1916-1919."

What interesting stories must lie behind gifts such as these. Was the good news expected or a surprise? At any rate, it probably meant relief from anxiety, or a new hope and joy in life. What experiences in Dartmoor or elsewhere did the CO of World War I undergo? At any rate, he would do the same today if necessary.

Is there not something in your own story which is worth a gift to the Peace Pledge Union as a token of gratitude or in remembrance of some choice made?

We will very gladly acknowledge the gift which it prompts you to send, and make very good use of it.

STUART MORRIS
General Secretary

Our aim for 1954: £1,000

Total received to date: £509

Amount sent since September 23: £7

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Disk Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

had no personal contact or relationship with Africans; they were unaware of the appalling bitterness which their attitude engendered in the minds of the Indian and the African, nor of the pockets of growing intolerance which was the sad contribution made by the white man to South African life.

Canon Collins could not pay sufficient tribute to white men like Father Huddleston; but they were a mere handful. "Whether we like it or not, this should be said: the lead which the churches should be taking on the question of colour, is being taken by the Communist Party."

Christian men, with no fundamental concern for the ideological aspect of Communism, were joining the Communist Party because they felt unable to continue the fight for African freedom in isolation.

The Suppression of Communism Act was a fraud. Ninety per cent. of those named were in no sense Communists: he could name examples but felt it unwise to do so. The Act was being used to remove from power those who would lead a Resistance Movement on non-violent lines.

"Police-chivvied, permit-ridden, pin-pricked, white-dominated, denied simple human rights, Africans live under daily insult to their human dignity," he continued. In such a situation we could not rule out the possibility of racialism in reverse, black racialism and the rise of a Black Hitler.

Only pressure from without could avert catastrophe.

Constructive steps

Canon Collins suggested certain constructive steps which might be taken by the people of this country:

1. Remove the beam from our own eye: a public declaration that the colour bar should not operate in any part of Britain, or in any territory over which Britain has control, would have immense influence.
2. Spend one hundredth of the money we waste on armaments on improving conditions in the Protectorates. Of the 300,000 men working in the mines of South Africa 100,000 came from the Protectorates: if these were enabled to find work in their own land South Africa would be badly shaken.
3. Defy Malan's blackmail; "if he wishes South Africa to become a Republic let him get on with it, he will find no help from behind the Iron Curtain, nor from India; America is unlikely to be friendly."
4. Withhold our vote from any man who favours Britain's abstention from voting on South African issues in the United Nations.
5. Give unqualified support, with no heel taps at all, to the African Congress, which is the authentic political voice of the unfranchised Africans.
6. Open our purses to enable those who would lead the African resistance movement on Christian and non-violent lines to receive refreshment and encouragement from a visit to this country. Christian Action were arranging this work, but it cost £300 for each visit.

One thing was certain: by some method or other Africans would resist, even if they went through a blood bath on the way to freedom.

Kees Boeke retires —to a new job

KEES BOEKE, 70-year-old Quaker, founder of Holland's most remarkable school, retired last month after a life-time devoted to pacifism and free education.

So famous did Kees Boeke's non-coercive methods become that the three eldest daughters of Queen Juliana became students of his school at Bilthoven.

Time magazine, commenting on Boeke's work writes that, "instead of principal, he called himself 'general leader,' and his school became known as a Children's Workshop Community. Discipline? The workers (the children) must impose that upon themselves. 'I don't want them to learn to obey,' said he. 'I want them to think.'"

"The type of community he was aiming for: a pure 'sociocracy,' in which the whole society would be sovereign."

"Though retiring, Boeke declared that he was far from through. With the aid of a new foundation, headed by former Prime Minister Willem Schermerhorn, he and his wife intend to return to Lebanon (where he first started his life-work), hope to set up a community for poor Arab children. Says he of those children he once knew so well: 'We would like to give ourselves to them.'"

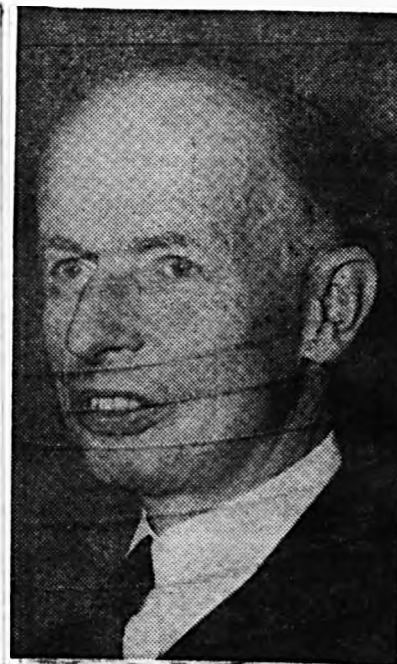
NEW EDITOR FOR RECONCILIATION

REV. GLYN LLOYD PHELPS, BD, has been appointed editor of Reconciliation, monthly organ of the Fellowship of Reconciliation in Britain.

Mr. Phelps was trained for the Ministry at Regent's Park College in 1931 and later became the General Secretary of the Christian Auxiliary Movement, now merged into the British Council of Churches. He edited their magazine Community.

Mr. Phelps takes over the editorship of Reconciliation in November.

He succeeds the Rev. Lewis MacLachlan, editor for close on twenty years, who now becomes editor of the Presbyterian Messenger.



Eelco N. van Kleffens

October 15, 1954, PEACE NEWS—3

NEW PRESIDENT OF UNITED NATIONS

DOCTOR EELCO NICOLAAS VAN KLEFFENS of the Netherlands, elected President of the ninth session of the United Nations General Assembly, brings with him more than 35 years of continuous work in the field of international relations.

The new President was born on November 17, 1894, in Heerenhaven in the Province of Friesland. Almost immediately after he received his doctor of laws degree from the University of Leyden in 1918, he obtained an appointment to the Secretariat of the League of Nations. He remained there from 1919 to 1921. In the following year he entered the Dutch foreign service.

Since then Dr. van Kleffens has held several posts of responsibility in the Netherlands Foreign Office. He presided over his country's delegation to the San Francisco meeting which founded the United Nations.

In addition to his years of service to his government, Dr. van Kleffens has dedicated much of his available time to The Hague Academy of International Law with which institution he has been associated for about thirty years.

In the early 1930's he was appointed secretary-general of the Academy, and in 1946, he was elected a member of the Board of Governors of the institution, a post he still holds today.

—Unations.

Church of England and the H-bomb

A STATEMENT on the H-bomb made by the Bishop of Exeter earlier this year is "of first class importance," says Archdeacon Hartill in the Chairman's Foreword to the Annual Report of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, the body which unites pacifist members of the Church of England.

The Times report of the Bishop's speech, made in the Upper House of the Convocation of Canterbury in May, reads as follows:

"He personally felt it was immoral and un-Christian if Britain were to use the hydrogen bomb either offensively or even in retaliation after attack. The bomb was a weapon of indiscriminate destruction, and those who used it would put themselves on the level of those who, in the days of Old Testament history, massacred their enemies and exterminated men, women and children, regarding themselves as doing the will of God. The hydrogen bomb was destructive of God's natural creation. It could have no conceivable moral warrant, and it would be directed against the helpless. He would not be able to support such action, and he felt he would have to advise Christian people that they could take no part in it."

"This is the first time in recent years," comments Archdeacon Hartill, "when a non-pacifist Bishop has unconditionally condemned a modern war method and declared that Christians should not use it."

"We of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship hold that the same condemnation applies to other methods as to the H-bomb. But let us welcome the Bishop's recognition that Christian morality is something absolute, not something that lapses in war-time. Once the Church recovers that fundamental truth, the victory of Christian pacifism is assured. . . . The intellectual standpoint of our opponents is totally undermined. . . ."

The membership of the APF has shown an increase every year since 1947, reports the Secretary, Mr. Harry Mills. This year's increase of 87 new members includes seven members of the clergy.

Members of the Church of England who have declared themselves pacifists by joining the APF total 2,691, including 430 clergymen.

The Fellowship's Annual General Meeting takes place in the Oak Room, Kingsway Hall, London on Saturday, October 23. It will be preceded by a sung service of Holy Communion at St. Martin-in-the-Fields at 11 am; preacher, the Rt. Rev. J.C. Mann; celebrant, the Ven. Percy Hartill.

Details of catering facilities during the day may be had from the APF office, 29 Great James St., London, W.C.1.

"Except our brother be with us"

"ARE we in love and charity with our neighbour African? For what is the average income of a European in Kenya today? it is £600 a year. And what is the average income of the working African? it is £40 a year. 'Ye that are in love and charity with your neighbour.'"

"But I can just hear the first stone coming through the air, 'You oversimplify,' someone is protesting. 'These figures are meaningless,' someone is protesting, 'till the Africans are educated; you cannot make comparisons.'"

"Yes, that is quite true: education for the African is quite urgent. Absolute priority. Why is it then that the Government pays £40 a year for the education of every European child, and only £3 a year for the African child? Is that priority education for the African?"

"But this is too crude you say. Well, no more crude than the Bible. But the issue is not whether it is crude or not. The issue is whether we want peace in Kenya. Whether church folk here are ready to lead our land in truly and earnestly repenting of our sins, accepting the conditions that will let 'revival of spirit' in."

"Because the old word stands, We simply will not see God's face there: except our brother be with us."

—Rev. George F. MacLeod in a BBC sermon.

TRENDS

THE free nations should let Red China know that if she invades—directly as in Korea, or indirectly as in Indo-China—any territory we have undertaken to defend, she must take the consequences not only on the violated land, but on her own mainland.

Such a decision would involve risk, but there is no course we can follow without risk. To avoid a Communist world, we of the United States and other free nations must be willing to fight—now, if necessary.

The Communist objective always has been, and still is, domination of the world. It will no more change than a leopard's spots. In my opinion, the best chance—if not the only chance—we have for peace now and over the long stretch is to stop Communism in its tracks. If we do nothing, the Reds will merely follow their own programme for involving us in war and, they hope, crushing defeat.

—Wm. F. Knowland, US Senate majority leader, in Collier's magazine.

* * *

If we do not do our duty, and if a hydrogen bomb falls, I am not going to say to a maimed child that I could not do anything because of the Standing Orders of the Labour Party.

—Mr. Aneurin Bevan, MP, at Scarborough, September 29.

* * *

Soviet capability in intercontinental strategic and atomic warfare is increasing. With this increase, the disparity between us in number of planes becomes more critical. If their strategic capabilities ever equal ours, air power as a deterrent to war or insurance that a war would be won will require a superior numerical strength.

Our own air strength must, therefore, be increased numerically as their long-range capability improves. But numbers alone will not suffice. Our research and development programme must be adequate to maintain our lead in aircraft performance and in improved electronic devices.

As matters now stand, the US could defend itself from the Soviet Union without suffering crippling losses from air bombardment, even with atomic bombs. But its allies on the European and Asian continents are far more vulnerable both to the Soviet Air Force and to the Red Army (estimated at 175 divisions).

Until some approach to a balance of military power between East and West has been made, it would be folly for the West to agree to any limitation on atomic weapons. There may come a time when atomic weapons can be outlawed without disadvantage to us, but it is not in sight.

For the time being, the best deterrent we have is the long-range bomber and atomic weapons, but it is a deterrent the Reds are constantly cutting down.

—Newsweek magazine, August 23.

* * *

Moscow: The atmosphere seems to be lightening for freer discussion in science but the party hacks are closing down again on literature.

I. F. Stone's Weekly, September 13.

* * *

If you do not like the world we are living in now, please remember that it is largely the creation of politicians, with some help from the bureaucrats they command. They spend much of their time trying to make us forget this. They have a trick of suggesting that by prodigies of statesmanlike thought and action, they will shortly rescue us from the pits into which we have so carelessly fallen. It is never suggested that they dug the pits and perhaps pushed us in.

—Mr. J. B. Priestley, New Statesman, October 2.

* * *

Writing as a Socialist, although bitterly opposed to the denials of freedom that exist, I must say that I saw much to admire in East Germany which I would not be prepared to undo. Indeed, in none of the five Communist countries that I have visited in the last two years, with the exception of China, have I seen such élan and gaiety. This social and economic barrier to German unity that exists after ten years of division is something that no opponent of West German rearmament has yet made any attempt to answer, nor even to acknowledge.

—Mr. Desmond Donnelly, MP, Manchester Guardian, October 5.



View of the coast at Travancore-Cochin, the scene of the mutual-aid scheme described in the article below.

MUTUAL AID —A NEW APPROACH

By NORMAN J. HART, Executive Director, Community Development Projects Ltd.

THE need to assist the less privileged peoples of the world through international action is now accepted by major political organisations and most other organised opinion in Western countries.

Differences of opinion arise as to the type of assistance which should be given, the character of the organisation required, the quantitative and qualitative value of such assistance, its nature and its effect on the peoples being assisted. But the objective, the raising of living standards, the development of a self-reliant spirit, and the creation of a peaceful world community through a people-to-people action should be common to all.

It was in an attempt to develop this objective that in 1952 various Norwegian non-governmental organisations discussed the idea of an expanded Norwegian effort over and above the contributions being made to the United Nations and Specialised Agencies. At the same time, the Norwegian Parliament, in a unanimous decision, recommended that the Norwegian Government should investigate the possibility of an expanded effort.

Agreement

This resulted in October 1952 in a tripartite agreement being signed by the United Nations and the Indian and Norwegian Governments from which developed proposals for a multi-purpose project in Travancore-Cochin.

The project is being undertaken in two fishing communities with a population of 12,000, having approximately 500 fishing boats. If work by the eleven members of the Norwegian team and their Indian colleagues is successful, it will gradually expand to other areas.

The project calls for the motorisation of fishing boats, repair facilities, new types of fishing gear, improved processing and curing methods, the installation of ice plants, the provision of motorised transport for retail distribution and the organisation of fishermen's co-operatives.

An attempt is being made to combat erosion from the sea, a small health unit which will develop into a health centre and maternity home is in operation, and a 20-mile pipeline to provide safe drinking water for 100,000 people will be completed by 1957.

To secure public support the non-governmental organisations under the aegis of a joint committee organised an educational programme through 541 local committees. These committees, composed mainly of school teachers, distributed specially prepared material through local organisations, arranged meetings and provided lecturers.

Films also played a large part in the Campaign; altogether there were over 1,700 showings attended by nearly 140,000 people while over 12,000 articles, commentaries and news items were published in the press.

Noticeable

The fund-raising campaign, organised by 602 local committees appointed by local authorities, followed the main educational campaign commencing in mid-April 1953 with a special opening ceremony attended by King Haakon. The slogan of the Campaign "Give-A-Day's Pay for India Today" resulted in contributions from all sections of the community; trade unionists, employers, co-operatives, churches, farmers and fishermen.

It was specially noticeable that contributions were largest per head from the rural areas. By the end of the campaign, over £200,000 had been received. (A flood-relief campaign three months earlier raised a similar amount. This undoubtedly reduced the sum which would have otherwise been secured).

The campaign throughout its various phases was supported by all but a small minority of Norwegian opinion. It is interesting to note that while the Norwegian Communists denounced it in their usual terms, the Communists of Travancore-Cochin welcomed the project and urged that it be extended.

From the start, it was hoped that the Norwegian initiative would extend to other countries, and in 1953, with the support of their Government, leading Swedish non-governmental organisations formed a central committee for technical assistance.

This committee, representing some forty organisations from all fields of political and civic life, proposed that the Government, in co-operation with the United Nations, should undertake projects in Ethiopia and Pakistan.

The project for which an agreement has now been made will entail the establishment in Ethiopia of a school for the training of constructional engineers with a building institute and general laboratories. The cost of the project, some £48,000 each year, will be shared between the Ethiopian and Swedish Governments. The project in Pakistan will involve the setting up of a training centre for young men in the major trades concerned with the development of small-scale industries. A third project will consist of a training course for Indian veterinarians in Sweden undertaken in co-operation with FAO.

The Central Committee of non-governmental organisations is now engaged in preparing for an educational and fund-raising campaign to take place in early 1955 to raise additional funds for the field work in Pakistan and Ethiopia.

Campaigns

In Holland, a similar committee supported by the major political parties, the trade union federations and employers' organisations has recently been formed to launch a campaign for a project in Burma. With the assistance of the Bureau of International Technical Assistance of the Dutch Foreign Office, preliminary planning is being undertaken which will involve a definite contribution by the Dutch Government and the launching in 1955 of a public campaign.

Discussions for projects along similar lines have commenced in Denmark, Switzerland and Belgium (a resolution passed by the Belgian Senate asked the Government to study the possibility of a special action towards economically under-developed countries).

While this new approach to assisting less-developed areas is at an early stage, the plans have developed certain common factors.

The projects are based on the direct participation at appropriate levels of four agencies; governments of the developed and the less-developed countries, the United Nations and the non-governmental organisations. While the project agreements have been signed between the governments and the United Nations, the motivating force has been that of the non-governmental organisations.

In each donor country nation-wide support has been forthcoming. The aid programmes provide both technical assistance and some capital for economic development.

It is appreciated that these programmes are essentially symbolic in character. They help to create a direct community of interest between the assisted and the assister.

What is perhaps more important, they create a compelling climate of opinion, enabling Governments to act more decisively through the United Nations and other agencies in this field. It is of interest that the initiating countries have supported proposals for a special UN fund for economic development, despite intransigence from other developed nations.

May the time soon come when the British people, through their own major organisations, initiate a people-to-people approach, and at the same time demand a more vigorous effort by their government in the field of technical assistance and economic development.

Protest or censorship?

THERE is nothing, not even the thought of occupation by a foreign repressive government, strikes more fear to the heart and gives more pain to the moral sense of a pacifist or a democrat than the threat of censorship.

There is nothing which so divides the Left from the Right in religion as the idea of freedom of thought, and the dissemination of that thought in the printed word. "Freedom of speech, freedom of worship..." and equally with them, freedom of the arts!

But we are forbidden to walk naked in the streets and our more intimate love-making is allowed to take place only between walls and under a roof. Spontaneous expression of natural feeling, in fact, is controlled or confined. Propaganda, in a democratic country, is more or less free, except when that country is at war.

And the arts, so far, have had to watch their step mainly in the field of sex, and that, probably, less and less.

It is in relation to sex, too, that we have been most concerned to protect children from shock or perversion. But here the law does not only concern itself with the young.

The Lord Chamberlain, when he refuses to license a play, cannot be persuaded to alter his mind by an assurance that the manager of the theatre will refuse admission to people under 16. And not many people would quarrel with this ruling, however much, broadly speaking, they are concerned for free expression.

Re-thinking

We are most of us aware that the power of a piece of dramatic material to hurt or corrupt is not simply a matter of an age limit. What may be harmless at 12 may have horrifying effects at 15. What a five year old may take a robust joy in may produce an unforgettable nightmare in a child of 11. And 17 and 18, and even the early twenties, may be a time of awakening sensitivities which are more vulnerable than at any earlier age.

I think this is a time when many people not normally narrow minded are having to do a good deal of re-thinking in relation to what they feel may safely be publicly shown.

It is one thing to take a broad view of what literature should be available on the shelves of the public libraries, where people are likely, at any rate to spend a little time on selection, or may even be supposed to have some previous idea of what they want to read, and another to be quite happy about a state of affairs where a careless visit to the local cinema may involve one in the contemplation of cynicism and brutality which, while having some considerable power of compelling the attention for the time being, may leave a terrible sense of aridity and depression, if not something worse, behind it.

Many broadminded but discriminating people—Miss Dilya Powell, Mr. J. B. Priestley and notably Mr. Kingsley Martin in a recent (September 25) New Statesman—are beginning to feel serious alarm at the influx of brutal entertainment in several forms into this country. Children's "comics" (what a misapplication of a word that used to be applied to clowns and banana skins!) have been causing concern and a considerable amount of discussion for some time, but few of us knew that the situation was as bad as "Seduction of the Innocent" by Dr. F. Wertham—so far only known to me through Mr. Kingsley Martin's review—shows it to be.

But there are very few writers, and I do not expect that Mr. Kingsley Martin is one of them, who are in favour of censorship, except for children's books and periodicals. He is, however, prepared to say that sadism is the most vicious aspect of obscenity and tells us that this type of entertainment is spilling over into films and television.

Sadism

But it seems to me that a cause can be made out for saying that what is evil and corrupting at 15 is at least undesirable at 50. That is not to say that official censorship is the only remedy. What is, I think, most alarming of all, is the lack of public protest, and it is very difficult to assign a reason for it.

The uncomfortable thought arises—a thought of which one is very much ashamed—that it is not possible either to shock or to corrupt the already corrupted.

Argument about "realism" in the arts is often beside the point. What, it seems to me, is not sufficiently grasped, is that all art, and all "propaganda" is, and must be, what is known as "angled." This applies to the purest and best as well as to the most foul.

Aldous Huxley was right when he said that no-one was without a metaphysic, little as they might be aware of the presence of such a thing; the only alternative was between a good and a bad one. This is most obviously true of all forms of art, "realistic" or "idealistic," in so far as what is portrayed must always be a selection only, and a selection made by one particular mind, broad or narrow, aspiring or debased.

We may, or we may not, wish to extend and improve the censorship. What we might agree upon is that all should not be permitted.

GWYNETH REDWOOD-ANDERSON

Appeal for campaign against "comics"

MR. F. W. SAUNDERS, Chairman of the Royal Merchant Navy School, 28 St. Mary Axe, London, E.C.3., writes in a letter to The Times that crude and sordid printed matter is causing deep concern to his school and headmasters generally.

He asks that persons or public bodies interested in initiating appropriate action to end further publication of such undesirable matter should communicate with him.

New pamphlet on conscription

THE young man who asks for complete, unconditional exemption from the call-up is not simply being awkward or selfish.

He is witnessing to his belief that true service must be given voluntarily and not under compulsion, and at the same time refusing a prescribed period of two year's National Service because he is already committed to a service neither limited to two years, nor national as distinct from international.

This forthright conclusion is reached by a young Quaker, Philip Seed, in a valuable pamphlet he has written for the Peace Committee of the Society of Friends ("The Case for Unconditional Exemption," 2d.).

Since the introduction of conscription in 1939, 3,300 men have been granted unconditional exemption, most of them in the early stages of World War II. In recent years it has been granted to about two per cent. only of those registering as COs.

Philip Seed states that there are two grounds on which the unconditionalist position is based:

I. The call to witness to the wrongness of military conscription, as well as to the wrongness of war.

II. The conviction that the demand of the state for a prescribed period and form of service cannot be reconciled with the call to undertake a life-long period of service to mankind.

Inherent evil

"The fact that there is a conscience clause lessens some of the evil effects of conscription, but it does not detract from the inherent evil of conscription itself," he writes.

"Any form of conscription—including industrial conscription—subordinates individual personality to the interests of national policy: by so doing it denies the right of the individual to choose his own form of service to the community.

"But military conscription ignores his moral personality altogether.

"The conscript is limited in the exercise of his moral sense, and called upon to perform acts which, if performed in civil life, would be recognised as wrong.

"So far as the state is concerned, he is indeed no longer a man at all—except in so far as he is allowed to have a private life.

"The rest of the time he is an instrument of potential or actual destruction, controlled by a government which he has not, at the age of 17 or 18, even had the privilege of helping to choose."

This leaflet is undoubtedly one of the most valuable contributions in recent years to literature on the conscription issue.

Although addressed primarily to Quakers it will be of value to every youth facing the call-up and those concerned with the welfare of young people—not least because at the end of the pamphlet Philip Seed has listed five useful points for further discussion.

Young Quaker sentenced

PAUL BROWN, young Quaker who was expelled from the City of London School because of his refusal to serve in the Cadet Corps has now been sentenced to one month's imprisonment for refusing to be called up.

He had refused conscription for alternative service after he had applied for unconditional exemption as a conscientious objector.

He was sent to Wormwood Scrubs Prison on September 29 after he had refused to pay a fine of £50.

Information on COs sent to schoolboys in US

INFORMATION relating to the right of conscientious objection has been sent to 1,500 senior schoolboys and 200 high school principals in the State of Oregon, USA by the local Fellowship of Reconciliation.

This marks the first stage in a campaign to let the youth of Oregon know about conscientious objection to war. Lists of the names of pupils are available at the County Courts.

The action has aroused widespread interest in the US.

The army disapprove. Quakers and pacifist bodies in other states are studying the project with a view to adopting similar schemes.

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LETTERS

Vegetarianism and non-violence

I FEEL sure that many who read Oliver Caldecott's article on "Labour and the Third Camp" welcomed this clear analysis of the relationship between democratic Socialism and "Third Camp-ism." It was therefore with particular regret that I saw the passage referring to "eccentric private panaceas (world Balkanisation and opposition to meat-eating, the combine harvester and, perhaps, following Gandhi, to all forms of manufacturing machinery)."

I cannot understand why Oliver Caldecott should bracket together such dissimilar ideas as opposition to meat-eating, world Balkanisation (whatever that is), and opposition to industrialisation as expressed in Gandhi's and others' ideas.

It is evident that Oliver Caldecott supposes these ideas to be similar, and I feel sure that many Peace News readers will resent the reference to "opposition to meat-eating" as being an "eccentric private panacea." He thereby displays a gross misunderstanding of the whole nature of the vegetarian case.

Firstly, vegetarianism is not just negative opposition to meat-eating. It is a belief in non-violence and peace, which we believe must necessarily apply to all our living.

One of the most important facets of living is our relationship with the animal kingdom. Many of our daily activities could not take place without the use of animals in some way or another, and this is particularly true of our food. We do not believe that ethical principles can arbitrarily be limited to the human kingdom alone. How can we truly claim that we are principled people, pacifists in every department of our lives, until we apply our principles to that large sector of our living, our use of the animals? It is necessary to understand that vegetarianism is a positive way of life, and proof of our intention to practise our principles of justice, mercy, love, non-violence and peace in everything we do.

As for world Balkanisation and the rest. I am in no position to defend or attack these, knowing very little about such ideas.

PETER E. SLADE.

284 Sutherland Ave.,
Welling, Kent.

Labour and the Gallup poll

MICHAEL THOMAS doubts my assertion that the Labour Party's lead in the Gallup poll is due to the leaders' visit to China and Russia.

He overlooks the fact that, while Labour had previously held a tiny majority over its opponents this grew decisively and suddenly after the delegation arrived.

This is not just a case of: "after this therefore because of this." There is a connection between the two events. Another Gallup poll has shown that voters of all parties were three to one in favour of the China visit. Surely that is not surprising when the desire for peace is the deepest longing among the people today.

Then Mr. Thomas finds it difficult to understand why I and others like me support the Labour Party which spent thousands of millions on rearmament. We support it despite rearmament not because of it.

He must be aware of the great and growing opposition inside the Labour Party to German rearmament, SEATO and colonial repression.

He must have read in last week's Peace News the excellent article by Emrys Hughes and the leading article on the efforts of the rank and file to secure a peace policy. This seems to me the most important and also the most hopeful place to work.

And what is the alternative? To join the Conservative Party whose leader declared at the last general election: "We must stick to the Americans at all costs"? Or to cut oneself off from the millions of trade unionists and socialists who desperately want peace, by leaving their party and weeping in the wilderness?

FRANK ALLAN.

7 Mornington Cres.,
Manchester, 14.

The USSR and inspection

I MUST apologise for contributing almost a weekly letter to your columns, but, once again, the facts of Soviet policy are not clear in your editorial notes. You quote, without comment, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd's statement that "if the Soviet Government has really abandoned its demand for an unsupervised ban on nuclear weapons in advance of a scheme of disarmament that is a step forward."

In this sentence Mr. Lloyd once again states that the USSR has demanded an "unsupervised ban on nuclear weapons." He periodically makes this statement in public, though it is absolutely untrue. The Soviet Government has again and again called for the simultaneous banning of the weapons and the setting up of effective inspection machinery. In this respect, Mr. Vyshinsky's latest statement at the UN, in favour of "control and also inspection on a permanent basis" is not a new proposal, since he has already made it many times.

PAT SLOAN,
General Secretary.

British Soviet Friendship Society,
36 Spencer St., E.C.1.

Germany: a possible solution

THE recent Nine-Power Conference in London set itself the problem of establishing and accepting a formula for a European settlement.

A formula involves mathematics and it would have been an improvement if a few of the rules of mathematics had been adhered to by the Conference. We can give it only half marks because it has omitted: "No German rearmament is a possible solution."

The fact that this is a possible solution is demonstrated by the votes of the Co-operative Party and several trade unions against German rearmament; the French opposition to it; the large proportion of German people, including trade unionists, who themselves are against having rearmament thrust upon them; and the knife-edge voting at the Labour Party Conference on this particular question.

This "No German rearmament" could be stated as one possible key or basis to guide the conferences on world disarmament.

H. E. EDE.

162 Ashgrove,
Heston, Mddx.

Food exposed to atomic radiation is being eaten by American conscientious objectors who are acting as human "guinea pigs." The men "are showing courage of a high order," is the comment made by the Oregon Journal.

The newspaper urges that an attempt should be made to secure volunteers who are not COs to serve in the experiment.

New plays

"KID KENYON RIDES AGAIN," by Ted Willis and Allan Mackinnon at the New Theatre, Bromley, Kent, is an amusing new satire, (well acted, especially by Donald Morley, Paul Porcher and Elaine Wells) on investigation of un-American activities, and film publicity.

Kenyon, a United States pacifist film actor who hates fighting and is afraid of hurting anyone, plays a non-smoking, non-gambling unaggressive cowboy in his films which emphasise violence.

He is investigated because he has called Mothers' Day a racket, praised Russian horsemen and acted in films which show collective action against the rich and bankers as grasping men. His agent is afraid of investigation because he once criticised Hitler and attacked the Japanese.

"How did I know the Japs would become our allies?" he expostulates and hesitates to attack Russia in case she becomes an USA ally.

* * *

IN an excellent production by John Fernald which stresses, as Shaw did, the power of the spirit to survive violence and death, and the world's unwillingness to accept saints, "St. Joan" is played with moving simplicity, sincerity and spirituality by Siobhan McKenna at the Arts Theatre, London.

Like many men and women who cannot renounce violence till they see its horrors, the English Chaplain has to watch Joan's burning before he is changed: for him Christ's crucifixion was not enough.

This great play, in which Douglas Wilmer, David March, Kenneth Williams and Peter Wyngarde are particularly good, still exposes effectively how leaders in politics, church and army deceive the common people, especially to get them to fight. Asks the Archbishop of the Commander-in-Chief, "Could you make our citizens pay war taxes or our soldiers sacrifice their lives if they knew what was really happening?"

We are reminded that "It is only in history books and ballads that the enemy is always defeated;" that to the soldier Hell is a treat after war-service; and that nationalism will divide the world which "will perish in a welter of war."

* * *

BRILLIANTLY led by rubber-faced Leonard Webb and versatile Margaret Smith, Oxonians in "Oxford Accents" at the New Watergate Theatre, Strand London, provide the wittiest revue in town. "Officer-potentials" at Oxford, debates on "policies equatorial," US troops, US war novels, hysteria about royalty, advertising and the Sitwells are among topics pithily and pungently satirised.

RONALD S. MALLONE

Labour peace journal

THE "Labour Peace Leader" is the name of the new printed organ of the Labour Peace Fellowship. The first issue, prepared for the Labour Party Conference, contains articles on Labour policy, Kenya, conscription and the need for armaments reduction.

Available also from the LPF, 4 Stanley Rd., London, N.2., is a statement of policy, principles and purposes. The "Labour Peace Leader," issued bi-monthly, is 2d. per copy, 1s. 9d. annually.

Czech professor in Australia

PROFESSOR HROMADKA, the Czech theologian has faced stormy audiences in Australia where he has been speaking with Professor Kathleen Lonsdale, British Quaker, at meetings organised by the Peace Quest Forum.

In Melbourne anti-Communist clergy organised the Czech community in an attempt to prevent Professor Hromadka being heard.

The result, writes Professor Lonsdale in The Friend, was that we "hit the headlines."

"People who might not otherwise have been interested rallied round us in the interests of fair play and free speech."

"It seems to me that Australia, like the USA, has not yet attained political maturity. Good people in Australia are genuinely worried about the problem of doing this and, at the same time, integrating within their own community those 'new Australians' who are, many of them, quite unable to resist political exploitation."

Of Professor Hromadka, who was educated at Edinburgh University and taught theology at Princeton University (USA) during World War II, Professor Lonsdale writes in The Friend:

"Professor Hromadka is able to accept with approval the political, economic and social set-up of Communism while, as a Christian, he cannot accept, and indeed, continually preaches against the Marxist philosophy of atheism and dialectical materialism."

"His position is that of the Churches in the Communist countries generally."

"When asked how far Christians (or others) are able to criticise what they believe to be wrong in Communist practice, his reply is that any new regime is in a state of tension and it takes courage to criticise. If you have no courage, you find it impossible. If you have courage, you find that it is possible, and you both do and must do it. Your criticisms are not resented if it is realised that you are a friend, and not essentially an enemy, of the regime itself."

Professor Lonsdale edited the report of the Quaker Mission to Moscow, of which she was a member. This year she became one of the Sponsors of the Peace Pledge Union.

Dr. Oliphant denied visa

PROFESSOR MARCUS OLIPHANT, Director of the Research School of Physical Sciences at the National University, Canberra, Australia was refused a US transit visa until after the date planned for his trip.

The Washington Post (September 24) reported an unnamed State Department official as saying: "He is still inadmissible... (he is) a do-gooder, one of the boys who monkey around with pinkos... Oppenheimer case... that sort of thing."

At the time of the H-bomb test Professor Oliphant said in Sydney:

"Man, despite the teachings of all great religious leaders and moralists, has not given up warfare."

"Perhaps now that he is faced with the certainty that war means the complete devastation of the territories of both sides in any world conflict, he will find some alternative method of settling international disputes."

At least 50 eminent scientists have been refused visas into the US during the past two years according to I. F. Stone's Weekly.

Friday, October 15

LANCASTER: 7.30 p.m.: Friends Hall, Fenton St. Public Mtg. "Security through Disarmament." PPU.
LONDON, E.3: 7.45 p.m.: Children's House, Baginbun Rd., Bow. Discussion on "Orchard Les Papers." PPU.
LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.: 6 Endsleigh St. Douglas Clark. "The Theatre in Germany and Austria." PPU Central London Gp.
GLASGOW: 7.45 p.m.: Community Ho. Clyde St. 1. Group mtg. PPU.

Saturday, October 16

BARROW-IN-FURNESS: 7.30 p.m.: King's Hall, Hartington St. Sybil Morrison. "Security through Disarmament." Lakeland Area PPU.
BLACKBURN: 6.30 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho., Paradise Terrace. "Peace and World Problems." Speakers include Eric Tucker (London), Stanley Farrar (York), and Fred Adams (Wigan). SOF.
MANCHESTER: 2.30 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho., Mount St. Peace March leaves for parade of central Manchester. Assemble for Public Mtg. Blitz Site, Deansgate (nr. St. Mary's Gate) at 3.30 p.m. approx. Speaker Stuart Morris. Refreshments, Friends Mtg. Ho., 4.30 p.m. Offers of help to Fred Barton, 77 Derbyshire Lane, Stretford, before October 12.
ULVERSTON: 3 p.m.: Co-operative Hall, Brodgen St. Sybil Morrison. "Security through Disarmament." Lakeland Area PPU.
WOLVERHAMPTON: 2.30 p.m.: Compton Grange. Half-day school. "The Challenge of Africa." Speaker: Tom Wardle. Fee 2s. 6d., incl. tea. Details, Miss P. Wilson, 15 Goldthorn Ave. W'hampton Peace Cncl.

Sunday, October 17

BLACKBURN: 3.15 p.m.: Open-air mtg. Market Sq. "Battle for Peace." SOF.
BLACKBURN: 6.30 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho., Paradise Terrace. "Peace and World Problems." Speakers include Eric Tucker (London), Stanley Farrar (York) and Fred Adams (Wigan). SOF.
LONDON, W.11: 3.30 p.m.: Studio, 29 Addison Ave. (Nr. Holland Pk. Stn.). Pacifist Universalist Discourse. Rev. B. F. Carpenter, MA, Ph.D. "A Reason for the Faith that is in us." Religion Commission PPU.
HYDE PARK: 7.50 p.m.: Pacifist Youth Action speakers. Every Sunday. PYAG.

Monday, October 18

GUILDFORD: 7.30 p.m.: North St. Cong. Ch. Hall. Public Mtg. John Ferguson "The Basis of Christian Pacifism." FOR.

Tuesday, October 19

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.: Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPP.

Wednesday, October 20

BELFAST: 8 p.m.: Friends-Institute, Frederick St. R. Appleton, LL.B. "Jewish Problems of Today." FOR.
LONDON, W.1: 7 p.m.: Kings Weigh Ho., Church Hall, Duke St. Prof. Kathleen Lonsdale, "Focus on World Affairs." Chair, Dr. Rita Hinden. Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

DIARY

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

NOTTINGHAM: 1.15 p.m.: Open-air mtg. Old Market Sq. Rev. Donald Pipe and others. FOR, PPU.

Thursday, October 21

NOTTINGHAM: 7.30 p.m.: Adult School Rm., Friar Lane. Fred Hinnant. "Has the Pacifist Movement a Future?" Discussion and refreshments. N. Midland Board for COs.
WELLINGBOROUGH: 7.30 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho., St. John St. Public Mtg. John Hoyal. "Mankind at the Crossroads." Wellingborough Peace Group.
LONDON, W.C.1: 1.15-1.45 p.m.: Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen St. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by clergy and laymen of different denominations.
LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.: Dick Shepherd Ho. 6 Endsleigh St. A. J. Echenia. "Nigeria." Mtg. of Pacifist Youth Action Group.

GLASGOW: 4 p.m.: University Men's Union, A.G.M. Glasgow University Pacifist Assoc. Secretary: Tom Fleming, 107 Ardsheil Rd., Glasgow, S.W.1.

Saturday, October 23

BROMLEY: 7 p.m.: 19 Holwood Rd. Alfred Tucker and Catherine Williamson. "The World Pacifist Conference in Japan. Chair. Mrs. A. J. Howe. FOR.
HARROW: 2.30 p.m.: Havelock Place, St. Ann's Rd.; Peace poster parade; H.bomb-leaflet broadcast. FOR.
COLCHESTER: 11.45 a.m.: London members of the Non Violent Resistance Group arrive in Colchester; 2.45 p.m. poster parade; 4 p.m. Open-air mtg.; 5 p.m. Tea and Peace Exhibition; 6 p.m. Brains Trust. Cecil Barrett, Hugh Brock, D. Martin Dakin, Rev. A. B. Grosvenor, John Hoyal, Dr. John Kershaw, Sybil Morrison, Rev. Cameron Newell, Rev. Kenneth Sainsbury. N.V.R. Group, and Colchester Friends Peace Committee.

Sunday, October 24

HYDE PARK: 6 p.m.: Pacifist Youth Action speakers. Every Sunday. PYAG.

Tuesday, October 26

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.: Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPP.

Wednesday, October 27

NOTTINGHAM: 1.15 p.m.: Open-air mtg. Old Market Sq. Rev. Donald Pipe and others. FOR, PPU.

Thursday, October 28

HAMPSTEAD: 8 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho., 120 Heath St. N.W.3. Stuart Morris. "The Third Camp." PPU.

Saturday-Sunday, October 30-31

ILKLEY: 1 p.m. Sat.—6 p.m. Sunday; Holly Brook, Queens Rd. Rev. Clifford Macquie. "The Christian Citizen and the World he Lives In." Chair. Robert A. McKinlay. Details from Joyce Keeling, Flat 3, 31 Cromer Terrace, Leeds, 2.

SHIPHAM, SOMERSET: Week-end school "The Third Camp" at Pensant Guest Ho. Fee 25s. Leader, Kenneth Ingram. Booking fee, 5s., to Freda Clegg, 120 Wick Rd., Bristol, 4. Bristol Peace Committee.

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MEETINGS

CONTEMPORARY HISTORY. A series of fortnightly talks and discussion—free. "What happened in Europe in our century." Send s.a.e. for details to 147 Graham Rd., London, E.8.

EMPRESS HALL. Saturday, November 6, 7 p.m. Celebration: Opening of British-Soviet Friendship Month, November, 1954: 37th Anniversary of the USSR. HE the Soviet Ambassador, Mr. Malik, speaks. Soviet guests include Khachatryan, composer; Leonov, writer; Mme. Novikova, chairman of the Consumer Goods Workers Trade Union. Soviet singers and dancers will perform. Medvedev's Extrada Orchestra. Tickets, 2s., 3s., 5s., 7s. 6d., 10s. 6d., from British Soviet Friendship Society, 36 Spencer St., E.C.1. Cash and s.a.e. with order, 10% disc. on block bookings of 10 plus.

INTERNATIONAL CLUB. Bath. Every Tuesday, 7.30 p.m. Royal Literary and Scientific Institute. 18 Queen Square, Bath. All welcome.

KATHLEEN LONSDALE, FRS, speaks about her world tour at King's Weigh Ho. Church Hall, Duke St., W.1., at 7 p.m., Wednesday, October 20. Chairman Dr. Rita Hinden. Adm. free. Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

KING'S WEIGH HOUSE Church, Duke St., nr. Bond St. Tube. Sunday at 6.30 p.m. The Gospel of Peace. Rev. Cland M. Colman, MA, B.Litt.

LONDON NATURAL HEALTH SOCIETY. Second grand mtg. Mon. Oct. 25., 7.29 p.m. Caxton Hall, S.W.1., Stanley Lift. "The Basic Factor in Health." Free.

MANCHESTER PEACE COMMITTEE. Hear Counsellor E. Dixon (Coventry) on "Civil Defence," and Gordon Schaffer (chairman, British Peace Committee) on "Germany" at Lesser Free Trade Hall, Sunday, October 17., 7.30 p.m. Admission 6d.

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NATURE CURE Health Centre. Blunham House, Bedfordshire. Apply to the Secretary for particulars.

PLEASE BUNDLE your jumble, white elephants, etc. for dockland Club Week effort. Salford Central Youth Club, Salford, 5.

REGINALD HAILEY, Naturopath and psychiatrist. 134 Hoppers Rd., N.21. Palmers Green 9568. By. appt.

EDUCATION

SPEAKING AND WRITING lessons (correspondence, visit). 5s. Dorothy Matthews, BA, 32 Primrose Hill Rd., London, N.W.3. PRIMROSE 3636.

LITERATURE

FOR YOUR MEETING. Don't forget that Housmans can supply all your literature requirements and quantities of Peace News. Send a postcard to Housmans Bookshop (Peace News), 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4. (WALKERISM). Informants and literature respecting the Fifth and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London.

SITUATIONS VACANT

The engagements of persons answering these advertisements must be made through a local office of the Ministry of Labour or a scheduled employment agency if the applicant is a man aged 18 to 64 or a woman aged 18 to 59 inclusive unless he or she, or the employer, is exempted from the provisions of the Notification of Vacancies Order, 1952. CONVINCED PACIFIST: (man), wanted for responsible secretarial position in international organisation. Headquarters, London. Enquiries stating qualifications and age to Box 584.

FULL OR PART TIME office worker at moderate salary needed for Crusade for World Government. Write Chairman, C.F.W.G., 20 Buckingham St., London, W.C.2 by October 30.

PEACE WORK is available for all volunteers at Peace News office. Daytime and every Wednesday evening we shall be grateful for help. Write, phone or just drop in to Peace News (STAMFORD HM 2262), 3 Blackstock Rd. (above Fish & Cook, stationers), Finsbury Park, N.4.

SHORTHAND-TYPIST wanted. The Central Board for Conscientious Objectors, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

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GERMAN MAYORS REVOLT AGAINST MILITARY AUTHORITIES

all parties is surprisingly low, and the younger generation, in particular, tends to stay out of them.

The vast majority of the people—90 per cent. at least—do not belong to any party, and thus have no newspapers, or almost no newspapers, to express their opinions.

The enormous success of Adenauer in the last elections does not prove the contrary. To consolidate their position, the big parties changed the election law so that no party could get a seat in parliament if it got less than five per cent. of the total vote.

This was one way, not only of preventing any immediate effective opposition, but of holding back the formation of new political parties, which must come to strength slowly, and which for success require large sums of money.

The discontented voter had to stay away from the polls—which many did—or to vote

halfheartedly for one of the major parties. Adenauer had achieved considerable prosperity, in comparison to the nation's post-war lot, and so he got substantial support.

It is a fact to be reckoned with that very many Germans, hearing that France had voted down EDC, and that rearmament seemed at least postponed for a time, uttered a sigh, declaring, "Thank God this nightmare is over." If that seems hard to believe on the outside, consider some other factors.

Resistance

It is thoroughly understood in Germany that in a new war the German people will suffer a deplorable fate.

On one occasion, General Gruenther, chief of NATO forces said that the German divisions would be used only to cover the retreat of the European Army behind the Rhine, where the real resistance would be set up.

What does that mean for the territory East of the Rhine?

As the Germans see it, it almost certainly means "scorched earth." There are too many Germans who have seen the policy of scorched earth work out in Norway, Poland, and Russia.

Everywhere between the Elbe and the Rhine, right now, all bridges are being mined, in order to be blown up in case of such a retreat.

The people see this, and sometimes they have even resisted. In several places, where the workers under the Occupation Powers had cleared a cave beneath the bridge for the dynamite to be put in, people from neighbouring villages filled those hollow spaces with concrete on the following night.

Several mayors—and let no one suppose them to be Communists—have openly refused to deliver key or plans for such a purpose; for example the mayors of Bamberg and Duisburg.

At Bamberg the city councillors gave out a statement saying those bridges had been built to cross over the river, not to be blown up.

H-bomb belt

It is no secret that near Kaiserslautern some 30 atomic cannon from the United States have been installed, able to fire at a range of many miles (some say 80), using shells like the Hiroshima bomb. Dr. Adenauer thanked the US for these guns. The inhabitants of Mannheim, Ludwigshafen, Mainz, living 80 miles west of those guns, have not.

Meanwhile, countless Germans believe that General Gruenther's plans are obsolete. After the H-bomb tests in the Pacific, many are saying that instead of scorched earth between the Elbe and the Rhine, there is now more likely to be a belt on which H-bombs will be dropped all the way between Hamburg and the Swiss frontier. This prospect is even less attractive for those who happen to live in that region.

The unpopularity of rearmament is not limited to youth or to political leftists. The big Krupp firm has even refused to accept orders for repairs of American tanks, "for reasons of principle." Krupp is prospering now with non-military activity, building a large steel factory in India, constructing the first bridge across the Bosphorus.

So strong is the attitude among the people that the second biggest party, the Social Democrats, had to yield a good deal to it. At its recent annual conference in Berlin, many speakers from the country-side expressed opposition to any rearmament whatsoever. The trend was so powerful that in the election of members to the new guiding board of the Party, two decided foes of rearmament were chosen. One of these was Dr. Fritz Wenzel, from Brunswick, a former clergyman, who is President of the German Peace Society and the German branch of the War Resisters International, a body of conscientious objectors.

These are things of which people abroad may be ignorant, for they are not widely reported by the German newspapers, let alone the foreign news services.

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The burning question

I agree with the pacifist that war is immoral and evil, but if everyone in this country was a pacifist the Russians would come here and how can I protect my wife and children from that?
—THE-MAN-IN-THE-STREET, October, 1954.

THE man who says this kind of thing is not concerned with the causes of war or of long term policies for removing those causes; he is concerned with what he conceives would be the consequence of abandoning the method of war.

It is, of course, an over-simplification, but to him it is absolutely real. It is not enough to answer that if there is a war the chances of his protecting his wife and children from annihilation are so remote as to be ruled out, for he is still appalled that they might be subjected to the tyranny of a police state, and would even prefer that they die rather than suffer it.

He visualises with cold fear, coming home one evening to find his wife gone; his terrified neighbours unwilling even to whisper the dread news that the secret police have visited his house.

Every tale he has ever heard, or read, of concentration camps, interrogation under torture, purges and compelled confessions, runs luridly and horribly through his mind.

He is convinced that unless Britain fights with every weapon at her command this will be the awful destiny of a country once proud and free, and the fate of himself and those he loves.

Moral considerations about the evil of war do not carry weight with him; he asks himself, and he asks the pacifist, whether the annihilation of the human race is not in fact to be preferred to this other dire possibility. He poses the choice of one of these two evils under the certain conviction that there is no other way to choose.

For him the dilemma is at that point, and

Four-point programme for Kenya Peace

FOUR proposals for ending the fighting in Kenya were endorsed by the National Council of the Peace Pledge Union when it met last week-end.

The PPU believes that the time is opportune for a new constructive approach to the problem.

The proposals are:

1. The appointment by the Government of two intermediaries who have the confidence of the African community, one of whom should be an African.

2. The appointed intermediaries should contact Mau Mau leaders and propose an immediate armistice for the purpose of negotiating an amnesty and a peace settlement.

3. Following such an amnesty a round table conference should be called immediately, consisting of representatives of Africans, Asians and Europeans on a basis of parity and including representatives of the Arab community.

4. The round table conference should prepare a programme of political, social, economic and educational reform, which the Government should undertake to implement within a specific time table.

WIDE SUPPORT FOR COLCHESTER RALLY

COLCHESTER'S Medical Officer of Health and a number of East Anglian ministers are supporting the peace demonstration in the town announced on this page.

Pacifists from many parts of England will be joining the demonstrators. Seats are available in a car leaving Canterbury, Kent at 7 a.m. along a route: Lewisham, Bow, Stratford, Ilford, Brentwood, Chelmsford. Apply NVR Group, 79 Lordship Park N.16. (Shared cost.)

OUR CHRISTMAS RUSH

Daytime voluntary helpers are urgently needed to help Peace News' annual Christmas card fund-raising effort. Mondays to Fridays 9 a.m. to 6 p.m.; Wednesdays to 10 p.m. at 3 Blackstock Road, Finsbury Park, N.4. (First floor, above Fish and Cook, Stationers. Finsbury Park Station.)

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at that point only. It may be argued, and in my view rightly argued, that it is false to assume that the logical conclusion of disarmament is Russian invasion. The majority believe that it is, and cannot credit that pacifism is anything but a negation of action, and an invitation to the tyrant.

It is unfortunate that the profound belief in the supreme value of the human person which denies the right of anyone to take another's life should have become known as pacifism, and thought by many, simply because of the sound of the word, to be synonymous with passiveness or passivity.

The renunciation of war is not the same as the renunciation of all moral action; to resist a tyrant without resort to weapons of war is not the same as letting the tyrant triumph.

It is not pacifism, but war that has achieved victory for the tyrant. Hitler was the direct result of the tragic, revengeful, and stupid policies of the victors in the first world war. The present "tyrant" (as Russia is labelled by many today) was welcomed as an ally to assist in the overthrow of that other tyrant, and that in itself is an indictment of the futile expediences of war as a method of defeating tyranny.

★

The method has been tried for thousands of years; it has been supported and blessed by the Christian Church, and yet tyranny over minds as well as over bodies has never been so powerfully rivetted upon the world as it is today.

It is not a simple question of choosing to die in the holocaust; that is not the choice; it is a question of becoming part of the war machine which may ultimately command both body and soul to the business of slaughtering millions of innocent wives and children, whose husbands also passionately desire to protect them, the world over.

It is only a matter of assumption that if everyone were a pacifist Russian invasion would immediately follow; in fact, if everyone were a pacifist something would happen which must eventually come to pass in any case if the human race is to survive, and that is, that all international relationships, conferences, negotiations and agreements would be based upon trust, and not upon fear.

This of course requires a belief in the existence of good and the paramount need in the world today is for millions of adherents to that basic faith; without it the dilemma remains and the world is given over to evil; with it there is the strength which comes from the certainty of ultimate victory over evil.

Those millions will be made up of separate persons; the decision, therefore, is first of all with the individual; it requires courage and it requires faith, but ultimately the destiny of the human race depend upon it.

See you to-night?

Steps of St. Martin-in-the-Fields Trafalgar Square every Friday at 5.30 p.m.

CENTRAL LONDON PEACE NEWS STREET SELLING CAMPAIGN

Papers and posters await your collection; all volunteers welcomed.

COLCHESTER

Peace demonstration organised by the Colchester Friends Peace Committee and the Non-Violent Resistance Group

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 23

Poster parade from Friends Meeting House 3 p.m.

Open-air meeting at St. Botolphs Cnr. 4 p.m.

Speakers: Cecil Barrett, Hugh Brock, John Heyland, Rev. Cameron Newell, Sybil Morrison. Chairman: Rev. K. Sainsbury

Brains Trust at Friends Meeting House 6 p.m. (Buffet from 5 p.m.)

PANEL: "Brain-of-Britain" Dakin, Cecil Barrett, Hugh Brock, John Heyland, Rev. A. B. Grosvenor, Sybil Morrison and Dr. John Kershaw, M.O.H.

HELPERS WANTED

Fare from London 6s. 9d. (Notify N.V.R. Group, 79 Lordship Park, N.16.)

Peace Pledge Union Anniversary

Mary Ward Hall, Tavistock Place, W.C.1 from 6 to 9 p.m.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 30th

Refreshments from 6 till 7

SPEAKERS:

PRESTON BENSON
(Foreign Correspondent, The Star)

STUART MORRIS

CLIFFORD EVANS
(Dramatic Readings)

Films

Dick Sheppard, George Lansbury,

Stuart Morris

Chairman: HUGH BROCK

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PPU RELIGION COMMISSION

Pacifist Universalist Service

3.30 p.m. Sunday Oct 17

Studio, 29 Addison Ave., London W.11 (Near Holland Park Stn.)

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This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

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